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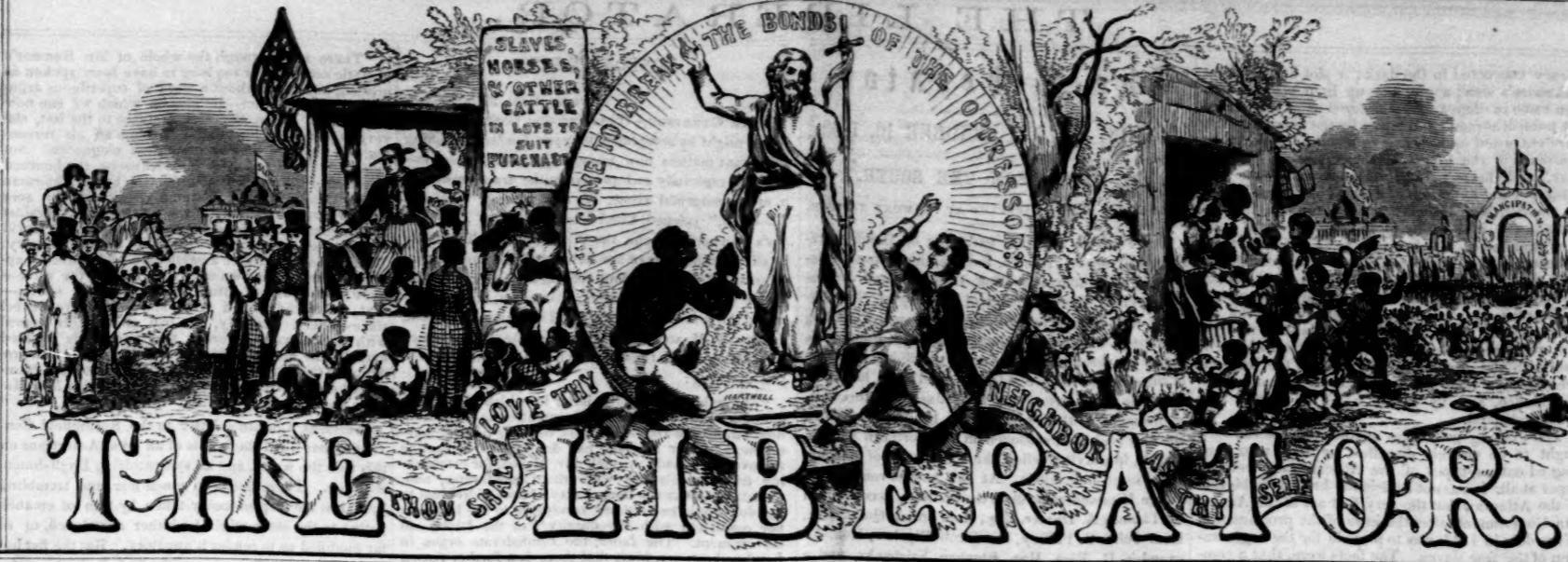
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

VOL. XXXIII. NO. 42.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1863.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all
the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-
itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all munici-
pal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being
true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive
management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT of the
UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY,
HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-
CIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant
that the slaveholding States become the theater of a war,
CIVIL, SERVILE, or FOREIGN, from that instant the war powers
of CONGRESS extend to interfere with the institution of
SLAVERY, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED
WITH, FROM A CLAIM OF INDEMNITY FOR SLAVES TAKEN OR DE-
STROYED, FROM THE CESSATION OF STATES, BOUND UP WITH SLAVERY, TO
A FOREIGN POWER, . . . IT IS A WAR POWER. I SAY IT IS A WAR
POWER; AND WHEN YOUR COUNTRY IS ACTUALLY IN WAR, WHETHER
IT BE A WAR OF INVASION OR A WAR OF INSURRECTION, CONGRESS
HAS POWER TO CARRY ON THE WAR, AND MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING
TO THE LAWS OF WAR; AND BY THE LAWS OF WAR,
AN INVADED COUNTRY HAS ALL ITS LAWS AND MUNICIPAL INSTITU-
TIONS SWEEP BY THE BOARD, AND MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE
PLACE OF THEM. WHEN TWO HOSTILE ARMIES ARE SET IN MARTIAL
ARRAY, THE COMMANDERS OF BOTH ARMS HAVE POWER TO EMAN-
CIPATE ALL THE SLAVES IN THE INVADED TERRITORY."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1706.

Refuge of Oppression.

SPEECH OF HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

Extracts from a characteristic speech delivered by Hon. Montgomery Blair, U. S. Postmaster General, made at a Union meeting held at Montgomery County, Md., on Saturday, the 3d instant:—

FELLOW CITIZENS:—I congratulate you on the
days judiciously chosen by the circumstances under
which we meet to-day. The progress of our arms
gives us good reason for believing that peace will
soon be restored to the country, and that when it
comes, it will be an enduring peace, because ob-
tained by preserving the integrity of the govern-
ment, and because it will be followed by the early
suppression of the system of the institution of
domestic slavery, which occasioned most of the
difficulty in the funding of the government, and
has been the only cause which ever seriously en-
dangered its existence.

But even while we are indulging these well-
designed hopes that our country is saved from dev-
astation by the rebellion, we are menaced by the
sabotage of the ultra-abolitionists, which is equally
dangerous to the rebellion, and, if successful, could not fail to be alike fatal to republican institu-
tions. The slaves of the South would find
as oligarchy—a sort of feudal power imposing its
rule over all who till the earth over which they
reigned as masters. The abolition party, whilst
pounding philippines against slavery, seek to
make another color by amalgamating the
black element with the free white labor of our land,
and so to expand far beyond the present confines of
slavery the evil which it makes to republicans and
republican states; and now when the leaders of the
traitors who attempted to subvert a power con-
sistent with the overthrow of the government
are to tell us that they would make the manu-
facture of the slaves the means of infusing their
whole system by blending with it
supposition, equality and fraternity."

The cultivators of the soil must then become a
lied race, and our government a hybrid govern-
ment, as all such unnatural combinations have
ever done, in degraded, if not abortive, genera-
tions, and making scurf for the inferior caste—the
mixed blood of the conqueror race inevitably
seizing a despotic over it. To facilitate this
purpose, a concerted effort is now made to the
people of the free States through the press, to open
the eyes of our patriotic Premier, and we swal-
low it with as much faith as zeal ever embraced
a dogma. Sure! Certainly; but it is to be in
sixty days, Mr. Seward? Or must we contain our
souls in patience until after the far more important
question of the succession is decided? We very
much fear so. In the next sentence we are told by this
most conservative, but most illogical of Cabinet offi-
cials, that peace to be followed by the early sup-
pression from our system of the institution of
domestic slavery. And here we pause, lost in wonder
and amaze, and we ask ourselves, is it possible that
the anti-slavery and anti-slavery abolitionist
Postmaster General can have uttered this rather
bold and audacious doctrine? Well, perhaps Mr.
Seward's finger was in the pie to that extent, and so
we pass on to its more delicious ingredients. We
soon come upon them. In the very next paragraph
we find that "Richard's himself again;" and, as
we read on, we realize that the whole abolition
host is routed, horse, foot and dragon, before the
tranchant hilt of the apostolic knight of conserv-
atism. Hark! How heavily fall his blows upon the
strongholds of "amalgamation, equality and frater-
nity," heavily as did the battle-axe of Cœur de Lion
on the heavily-knobby castle gate of Torquemada.
The Washington Chronicle, led on by the tracking
Fremont, and displaying the banners of Chase and
Stanton—the man of money and the man of war—
goes down before him; the Missouri Democrat, rep-
resenting the Fremont graft of abolitionism, and
backed by the whole Teutonic element of the South-
west, is sought out a personal enemy in the mael-
strom of opposing forces, and crushed to earth, though
perhaps to rise again; and, finally, that heaviest of
the heaviest, the Atlantic Monthly, is encountered by
the nullifiers, to destroy the Union and set up a South-
ern Confederacy, and that of the ultra-abolitionists,
which has set in to dislodge the South on the pretext
of making secure the emancipation of the slaves.

The attempt of the nullifiers is rebuked from the
cannon's mouth, and the proposal of France to se-
cure their object by her friendly mediation is put
aside by the President telling the Emperor that he
will confer with the rebels through no indirect me-
dium—the Senators and Representatives in Con-
gress, coming from the Southern States, and bring-
ing them an earnest of returning loyalty, will
be met as equals, and admitted to the councils that
are to dispose of the destiny of the nation. Altera-
tions in its laws must be made by Congress; changes
in the Constitution, by delegations in convention
of all the States, according to the term, of that in-
stitution.

Is a ban upon one-third of the States, which
they for exclusion from the Union when treason
is defeated and the traitors expelled, as just, as wise,
as constitutional, as likely to end the trouble of the
country? It is manifest now that the President
must steer his course through the strong, conflicting
tides of two revolutionary movements—that of the
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And now in this discussion," says the newくな
we are brought to the practical question which is
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The Liberator.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1863.

A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE HIESTAND AT TREMONT TEMPLE.

friends of the North pray night and day for the maintenance of peace. They deprecate a war with the United States as fraught with possible ruin to the great cause of union and emancipation which stands first and highest in the estimation of Mr. Sumner. A war with the United States would have as few chances of popularity as any war could have; but who can perfectly trust themselves or their countrymen when war is concerned? Who would like to give battle that, when the sparks of hostility are once kindled, a conflagration will not follow? What political principle and humanity would be unshaken by such a thought?

As an American and a patriot, we cannot expect Mr. Sumner to remain unmoved or silent when the honor or the interests of his country are imperilled, but as a Christian and a philanthropist—grounded of sentiment and action common to good men of all countries—we have a right to ask him to use his influence for the maintenance of peace. Our sympathy with him as the eloquent advocate of the claims of the negro permits us to ask him whether he can seriously persuade himself that the cause he has at heart will be pushed nearer to a triumphant issue by espousing a policy which it is hard to distinguish from that of the *New York Herald*? The infamy any cause obtains by being advocated in the columns of that journal is a sufficient bar to its success; but there is no knowing what success it may win when invested with the weight of character and the charms of eloquence which none of his countrymen can more readily impart to it than Mr. Sumner. The conduct of a foreign government is seldom so bad as to be incapable of being viewed in lights more or less friendly. Our Foreign Enlistment Act is obscure, and not easily applied. This evil may be remedied when Parliament meets, if the judgment in the case of the *Alexander* should be confirmed in the Law Courts, but for the present we must battle with it as well as we can. The seizure of the *Alexander* and the stoppage of Mr. Laird's iron-clads, afford at least some proof that Earl Russell is anxious to do his duty. We will not enter upon the old question which Mr. Sumner brings up, for though a good deal might be said on behalf of the expediency and the necessity of recognizing the belligerent rights of the South, it is not easy so to frame arguments as to avoid the semblance of recrimination. It is certain, however, that the policy we have adopted in this respect has prevented a thousand complications which would otherwise have sprung out of the blockades of the Southern ports. Mr. Sumner is led away by oratorical feeling when he declares that our "neutral" itself is a "betrayal of civilization." Not to have been neutral would have made us judges in a controversy which the Americans have the sole right to determine. It is very likely that Earl Russell did not perfect his iron-clads, at least, to know the opinion of the South, as indicated by the recall of Mr. Mason. There are some matters which it hardly becomes a great nation to elevate into a cause of quarrel. Let us exclude Earl Russell and Mr. Seward. Both are excellent men, yet erring mortals, like the rest of us. On one point at least let us act in concert. Let us strive by all means in our power to maintain peace between the two nations till the storm has blown over, and we are again moored securely in a quiet haven.—*Manchester Times and Examiner.*

A FREE UNITED REPUBLIC!

This was the title of an eloquent lecture given in the Corn Exchange, yesterday evening, by the Rev. W. H. Channing, from Washington, and nephew of the famous Doctor Channing. There was a large attendance. Amongst the gentlemen and ladies who crowded the platform were Messrs. Williams, Butterworth, T. R. Wilkinson, S. Watts, jun., E. O. Greening, R. J. Cooper, J. H. Estcourt, Hugh Warburton, C. Duffield, Craston, Boulton, Rev. T. G. Lee, Rev. A. Bertram, J. Morgan, W. F. Freer, and Dr. Parkhurst. Mr. F. Taylor, the chairman, introduced the lecturer.

The Rev. W. H. Channing, who was enthusiastically applauded on rising, said, before commencing his lecture, he wished to make a personal allusion. An advertisement had appeared in the local papers asking why the lecturer had foregone his duties as a citizen of a republic; the imputation being that he had shunned those duties in coming to Manchester to advocate the cause of that republic. He should be very glad to see the writer of that advertisement side by side with him on the platform. (Cheers.) To treat a strayed sheep in a great and masterly manner to such an inscription was a great and temperate act. (Cheers.) To honest men he begged to explain. (A VOICE: "Oh, never mind that; he is not worthy of notice," and cheers.) Nevertheless, he begged to explain that the law of enrollment made the limitation of age to those who should be enrolled forty years, and he regretted to say he had passed that limit—(loud cheers.) for he should very much rejoice, although a Christian minister, to be so enrolled, and had sought these two years for an opportunity to take that place. (Loud cheers.) When Washington during the last summer was threatened with invasion, it was his privilege to advocate the enrollment of a volunteer regiment, and, for being the first to do this, he was allowed to write his name first on the regimental list. (Loud cheers.) Never would he have come across the water, unless with the full assurance that the crisis of the war was passed. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

A proslavery eye-witness arriving here, issued by the Southern Club, said he would point out to them the sophistries with which its representations sought to stifle the atmosphere of truth to the working men of Manchester. (The lecturer, amidst hisses and derisive laughter, here held up the large sensation placard to which he referred.) He proved that it was a mere fallacy to say that the war resulted from the question of the tariff, and denounced the hypocrisy and insincerity of those who spoke of the atrocities which had been committed by Northern generals, while they ignored those on the other side. In illustration, several instances were given of cold-blooded shooting and whipping to death by the Confederates, showing that they had been madened by the barbarous influences of slave institutions.

Confederate sympathizers said that they were the friends of a full day's wages for a full day's work, but it could not be understood that men of that sense had any such notion as it. If they had it, it would be well known that this war was originally started by the cotton-growing States, for the very end of perpetuating their "peculiar institution," and they held out to France and England, in order that they might be recognized, the threat that the workmen engaged in the cotton trade would starve when the cotton was withheld. The burning of the cotton recently was but a practical proof of the pressure these Southern States wished to put upon the English and French governments, to induce them to recognise the Confederacy. (Cheers.) The honest working men of Manchester and Lancashire should spur the men who wrote such things as these, and show them that common sense and justice were superior to such shallow sophistries. (Loud cheers.)

The leaders of thought in this country were all with the cause of the Union, among them being that great man, John Bright—(prolonged cheering.) Richard Cobden, and W. E. Forster, of Bradford. (Renewed cheering.)

It had been said that the Southern States had a right to self-government, and Earl Russell uttered once that pointed phrase, and had run the rounds of the papers, and had been echo'd from lip to lip, because it was seemingly brilliant in its brevity. "The North is fighting for empire, and the South for independence." This sentence was taken up by honest, no doubt, and earnest men and women, who believed it was so, and to show how deep was the "opposition" of these States that were fighting for independence. (Derisive laughter.) For 64 years these oppressed people had held power in the United States against only eight years on the other side. It was an utter farce to say that these men were struggling for independence. (Loud cheers.) The whole meaning of the war was this: that a slave oligarchy, who had held the power of the United States government in all its different departments almost from the very organization of the republic, saw by the gradual development of the free population, and by the decade of the census of 1850, that the time had come when they had lost their power over and for ever; and simply because of this, they staked all upon one of two things—either to conquer the republic, and make a universal slave republic, or to break up the republic, and on the ruins rear a slave state. There was no other meaning in the war. (Cheers.) The slave oligarchy at one time thought they had won the desperate game for which they played; but where was the independence of the country? This war was a plot; a plot in the sense of a mean con-

spiracy concocted in the dark; a plot hatched in a cockatrice's den; a plot got up in a place where men came in silence, and whispered plans they dared not publish abroad; and a plot by the very men who were entrusted under their own solemn oaths to be guardians of the liberty of the republic. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) And this plot was for the perpetration and execution of sin. (Cheers.)

As an American and a patriot, we cannot expect Mr. Sumner to remain unmoved or silent when the honor or the interests of his country are imperilled, but as a Christian and a philanthropist—grounded of sentiment and action common to good men of all countries—we have a right to ask him to use his influence for the maintenance of peace. Our sympathy with him as the eloquent advocate of the claims of the negro permits us to ask him whether he can seriously persuade himself that the cause he has at heart will be pushed nearer to a triumphant issue by espousing a policy which it is hard to distinguish from that of the *New York Herald*? The infamy any cause obtains by being advocated in the columns of that journal is a sufficient bar to its success; but there is no knowing what success it may win when invested with the weight of character and the charms of eloquence which none of his countrymen can more readily impart to it than Mr. Sumner. The conduct of a foreign government is seldom so bad as to be incapable of being viewed in lights more or less friendly. Our Foreign Enlistment Act is obscure, and not easily applied. This evil may be remedied when Parliament meets, if the judgment in the case of the *Alexander* should be confirmed in the Law Courts, but for the present we must battle with it as well as we can. The seizure of the *Alexander* and the stoppage of Mr. Laird's iron-clads, afford at least some proof that Earl Russell is anxious to do his duty. We will not enter upon the old question which Mr. Sumner brings up, for though a good deal might be said on behalf of the expediency and the necessity of recognizing the belligerent rights of the South, it is not easy so to frame arguments as to avoid the semblance of recrimination. It is certain, however, that the policy we have adopted in this respect has prevented a thousand complications which would otherwise have sprung out of the blockades of the Southern ports. Mr. Sumner is led away by oratorical feeling when he declares that our "neutral" itself is a "betrayal of civilization." Not to have been neutral would have made us judges in a controversy which the Americans have the sole right to determine. It is very likely that Earl Russell did not perfect his iron-clads, at least, to know the opinion of the South, as indicated by the recall of Mr. Mason. There are some matters which it hardly becomes a great nation to elevate into a cause of quarrel. Let us exclude Earl Russell and Mr. Seward. Both are excellent men, yet erring mortals, like the rest of us. On one point at least let us act in concert. Let us strive by all means in our power to maintain peace between the two nations till the storm has blown over, and we are again moored securely in a quiet haven.—*Manchester Times and Examiner.*

The existing prejudices against the colored race ought to be entirely dispelled, for those who were singed out as types of the African race were not types at all. It was not sufficiently known on this side of the Atlantic, that the very first act of the American Government, after the issue of the proclamation of freedom in 1863, was to provide for the organization of the free slaves. The facts were, that a commission was appointed by the President to go through all the districts where those slaves were located, to search out and study their condition, and to organize them into a body of men, and place them in the estates that were deserted by their refugee masters. General Thomas, the Adjutant-General of the United States, and other officials, were sent last spring through the whole of the Mississippi valley; and when General Thomas made his last report, he testified that there were seventy plantations in the valley, thoroughly organized, and worked by these slaves under the guidance of the Government authorities. (Cheers.) He would undertake to pronounce that there were seventy plantations in the valley, thoroughly organized, and worked by these slaves under the guidance of the Government authorities. (Cheers.) He would undertake to pronounce that there were seventy plantations in the valley, thoroughly organized, and worked by these slaves under the guidance of the Government authorities. (Cheers.)

Judge Hiestand said that to be where he was would have been, a short time antecedent to the present occasion, one of the most unexpected events of his life. He spoke to-night, after a residence in New Orleans since 1829, having removed from Indiana at that time, and after a slaveholding experience dating back to the period when he first became old enough to own property.

He described the origin of American slavery, which he said first began in Louisiana, remarking that in his judgment the system was the purpose of One who is above human comprehension, but expressing his belief that the plans contemplated by Divine Providence in establishing and perpetuating slavery were about to be consummated, and that slavery was soon to perish from the face of the continent. He cited as proof of his argument, the history of the Israelites, and compared their servitude, and subsequent progress and exaltation, to what may be considered a parallel in the case of the enslaved Africans. Slavery, he said, was doomed before the war, and in a few years would have fallen to pieces of itself. The slaveholders attempted to check the downfall of the institution in the Kansas struggle of 1856, but not succeeding then, ever afterward sought to inaugurate a war to build up a government for themselves, whereof the chief cornerstone should be slavery—a basis, said the speaker, upon which no government ever did or ever can stand. In 1820, in South Carolina, these attempts began, but the patriotism of the country was too much for them then; but they nevertheless continued, in a Jesuitical manner, their plotting, industriously disseminating the doctrines of secession; carefully, however, like one walking upon ice which he thought might momentarily prove insufficient in strength to sustain him. The progress of this spreading of ultra-slavery ideas was materially enhanced by the election, in 1852, of Franklin Pierce, who, said Judge H., "was as well-informed concerning the plans of the rebels as I am." He described accurately the advantages gained by the Southerners during the administration of Mr. Pierce, and also under the rule of his successor, Mr. Buchanan, whom the speaker denominated "the arch traitor." The Charleston Convention was broken up in accordance with pre-determined plans on the part of the South; and at length, when the telegraph announced the result of the last Presidential contest, the South said, "Now is our time;" and from that day the Southern man who dared to stand up for the Constitution and the Union was denounced as a subversive, or, worst of all, "an abolitionist"—the latter epithet being considered there as more dangerous than that of horse-flesh, vagabond or murderer—and the design of immediately seizing upon the property and forts of the United States was thenceforward no longer mentioned in secret.

The secession of Louisiana and the raising of rebel armies in that State were referred to. The Union men of the South adopted the policy of bowing like the reed before the storm, expecting to stand erect when the calm ensued, rather to resist like the oak, and be torn to pieces by their opponents. The Union men agreed that the first gun should be fired upon Fort Sumter, from that moment the institution of slavery would begin to go down, and would go down forever. No arguments were listened to, however, and the work went on for the first year of the war.

There had, he believed, been some doubt expressed in this country in regard to the justification of the American government to employ negroes in their armies, and to convert slaves into soldiers. Now, he was not speaking to peace men, or to those who looked upon the war as one that had come in the course of Providence, as inevitable. So far as he understood what was the meaning of the Divine permission for this war, it was to prove the absolute necessity that other nations should recognize the full manhood of those men in bondage. At the outset of the war, men shrank from very shame to acknowledge that negro soldiers could be their peers, and those who were the leaders in this pre-judice were at this moment actually enlisting, advocating enlistment, and leading these negro soldiers on battle in war. He could point out several instances, but would only name that of General Logan, who had acknowledged that whereas, at the commencement of the war, he was the loudest in his prejudice, now he testified openly to the heroism and endurance of the negro troops. (Cheers.) Questions were also sometimes heard in England as to the sincerity of the United States in thus enlisting negro soldiers. He wished to tell them one simple fact in regard to the President and the Secretary of War—a fact which also goes some way towards rendering the delusion forever. A few weeks ago, President Lincoln and the Secretary of War, Wm. H. Seward, went to the Warrant to the Northern States to ask for the counsel and aid of a man who was born and bred a slave, and who, as such, escaped to the North, and afterwards came to this country an advocate for freedom; he referred to that eloquent man, Frederick Douglass. The President sent to him to ask his advice and aid in regard to the process of enrolling negro soldiers in the Mississippi valley, and Douglass was not slow to obey the call. He went to the President, and expressed his earnest recognition of the desire of the Government to do full justice to the colored race, and he (Douglass) was at this moment side by side with Adjutant-General Thomas, engaged as an officer of the United States in enlisting negro soldiers for the Federal army. This was one small token that the American Government never desired to take a step backwards in anything they had undertaken. The United States had once and forever declared that the negroes were free, and they would stand to that until throughout the length and breadth of a united republic, not a single feather should clank on the limb of a single slave, and until every yoke should be trampled in the dust. (Loud cheers.)

It is a law equally of nations and of nature, that if an institution exists in any country under the control of a few individuals, to be used detrimentally to the peace of the government, it is the right and the duty of that government to abolish and destroy it. To this idea the United States government seemed to awake at the beginning of the second year of the war; and the proclamation of emancipation was styled by the speaker as a severer blow to the rebellion than all the Federal victories combined. Since arriving in Boston, he remarked that he had heard the constitutionality of that edict brought into question. Boston is called, *par excellence*, the Athens of America, and on the present occasion he desired to say, as Paul did to the Athenians of old, "I perceive that he felt just as certain of the constitutionality of the proclamation as he was that the sun would rise to-morrow morning, or that there was a God in heaven.

He referred to the wisdom of those who framed our Constitution, and to the provisions of that instrument conferring upon the President, when acting as military commander, powers almost dictatorial. The experience of nations must be the only guide to the President or military commander of any country during the exigencies of war; and the familiar argument was mentioned, that slavery ought not to form any exception to the causes of trouble which it is in the power of the President, acting in his military capacity, to remove.

To the argument frequently mentioned, that the proclamation cannot be enforced, or, if it can, that the presence of the Federal army will be needed to perform such a result, the speaker said: "Suppose the last battle of the war is fought to-night at Chattanooga, and peace is to be speedily declared. The transition from a state of war to that of peace cannot be effected monotonously, and during the interim military law must govern the entire South, carrying into effect irresistibly the proclamation of the President, and liberating every slave in the country." He observed that recent conversations with President Lincoln might not be made public at the present time, but he felt at liberty to say, that, from intercourse with that gentleman, he was fully persuaded that the proclamation would never be abrogated nor receded from.

He commanded the Federal army for their benevolence toward the needy inhabitants of New Orleans, and eulogized Gen. Butler as the man sent of Heaven to restore order to their distressed population and feed the poor. He likewise warmly complimented Gen. Banks, saying it was glory enough for one State to have sent two such men from within its borders. In conclusion, he said that the scenes of the evening would be among the proudest recollections of his life, and he returned to the people of Boston and Massachusetts his warmest thanks for their kindness to him, while he bade them a regretful farewell.

Judge Hiestand spoke for about an hour and a half, and was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic and prolonged applause. He has been a resident in New Orleans for upwards of thirty years, and has been during that time a slaveholding Democrat. His address was well delivered, and evidently made a very powerful and pleasing impression.

The resolution was carried unanimously.—*Manchester (Eng.) Times and Examiner.*

LONDON ON-DITS.

LONDON, Sept. 25th, 1863.

DEAR GARRISON.—Thinking that perhaps another letter might be acceptable to your readers, touching important matters now transpiring in this great metropolis, especially and primarily the transference to a more congenial clime, of that blotted Virginian "flock-not," ycleped, Confederate minister, Jeff. Davis's own anointed one, the thick-skulled, oligarchical swine of fugitive slave law notoriety; the insolent, intolerant, overbearing, domineering slaveocrat; the minister of Northern traitors, statesmen, and clergy; the *vice versa* of Old Dominion Rebeldom. JAMES M. MASON. His exit, and the cause of this morning:

"We publish today the letter in which Mr. Mason announced to Earl Russell his intention to leave London. Jefferson Davis, it seems, believes that the government of His Majesty has determined to do the overture made three months ago by Mr. Mason, for establishing friendly relations with the Confederates, and therefore, thinks the longer stay of that individual in London would be neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity" of the Richmond Government. The *Index* the Confederate organ in London, however, hints that there is a further reason that motivates the English government in this regard. From England, it says, no more than England in the way of recognizing the South; but Mr. Siddle has always been courteously received by the French Government, and had access to the Ministers, while Mr. Mason, after his first and last and only interview with Earl Russell, had had nothing but curse annulled." So much is it!

"There runs through the whole of Mr. Sumner's gigantic oration—for too long to have been spoken as printed, but yet without a word of superfluous argument or declamation—an idea on which we can now only touch. From the first sentence to the last, slavery is present to his mind, colors all his reasoning, and invades every part of his eloquence. Against it he invokes the presence of the Slave Power. Against it he invokes the power of the British Cabinet. Against it he invokes the power of the British people. Against it he invokes the power of the British Government. To Earl Russell he makes no complaint, and the British government, he says, is more eager after the cause of the slaves than that of the slaveholders—more for the sake of future than of present effects—that she withdraw all favor and succor from rebel slave-owners. Happily, we can answer his appeal with facts as well as words. Our country is justified even by the man who sought to seduce her into degradation. On the same day that we print Mr. Mason's heart-moving reproaches, we print also Mr. Mason's accounting farewell."

"*Europe*, the best-informed paper in Germany, announces definitely that Maximilian has accepted the Mexican crown, even with the required stipulation of abandoning the possibility allowed him by the Anglo-American war of an intervening regency over the Austrian kingdom. This shows that he was more eager after the trans-Atlantic bauble (or bubble) than was general—more for his own sake than that of the slaveholders—more for his own sake than that of the slaves—more for the sake of future than of present effects—that he withdraw all favor and succor from rebel slave-owners. Happily, we can answer his appeal with facts as well as words. Our country is justified even by the man who sought to seduce her into degradation. On the same day that we print Mr. Mason's accounting farewell."

"PARROTT TICKLERS.

If the President's letter to the Springfield Convention has filled the hearts of all loyal Americans on this side of the water, and all sympathizing Englishmen, with fear and trembling, let the step so nobly taken by him of emancipation to the slave might be either abandoned, or so far modified as to render it nugatory. But the flat has gone forth in reaffirmation of the first, in the terse language of the President:—"The word has become, fresh, and drowsy among us, therefore my proclamation cannot be annulled."

"I can truly say that the English Government is made Commandant in-Chief under a detection of two years; that the new Government which English gold goes to establish in Mexico! This is the costliest thing of the season. It is a case of French Gorckhakoff—so new a word. It is as icy as a note from the steppes of Russia. But Napoleon must remember that Louis Napoleon has a weakness for brigands and brigandage, well known in Italy, and destined to be as well known in Mexico. Indeed, he did not do by all means what Miramon did by English subjects there.

"The English and French journals are having none sharp enough to disturb diplomatic nerves. Each is trying to make it out that the other has suffered most in the late encounter with Gorckhakoff. The note to France, says the *Times*, "is a slap in the face, and nothing else." *L'Opinion* returns, "British pride is once proverbial." If the British Cabinet declares itself satisfied with the reply of the Russian Chancellor, one must henceforward speak of British baseness. Gentlemen, you have both been kicked, and are both taking it meekly enough: the less said the better, is neither of you mean to do anything!

"The American Consul at Leeds, J. W. Marshall, Esq., is now on a visit to his half-brother, the Rev. Dr. McClellan of Paris. Mr. Marshall is an indefatigable worker, and able to meet the immense demands made upon a Consul at Leeds, whose trade with the United States, during the past year, amounted to nearly \$25,000,000. He is a Virginian, and an earnest emancipationist. He sees signs of a strong reaction in that neighborhood in favor of the Northern cause. An immense public meeting on the American question, by the way, occurred at Leeds on Monday evening, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Foster, who has richly earned it by his fearless devotion to truth. That indefatigable and tireless laborer, our noble friend, George Thompson, Esq., still works on, early and late, day and night, week after week and month after month; he works on, never faltering, never fearing, believing that in the end truth and righteousness will prevail over falsehood and vice. For thirty years has he thus worked and labored for humanity.

"I have learned that Washington Wilkes, Esq., the Editor of the *Morning Star*, whose able contributions for the past two years, in favor of the Northern cause, have given such zest to the paper, and have been so instrumental in creating and sustaining cordial views on American affairs, is about to visit Boston. I bespeak for him the heartiest welcome. He has richly earned it by his fearless devotion to truth. That indefatigable and tireless laborer, our noble friend, George Thompson, Esq., still works on, early and late, day and night, week after week and month after month; he works on, never faltering, never fearing, believing that in the end truth and righteousness will prevail over falsehood and vice. For thirty years has he thus worked and labored for humanity.

Poetry.

TELL ME THAT SHE'S NOT DEAD!

Tell me that she's not dead! It is too soon;
As well the sun might set before his noon!
Tell me that she's not dead!
Her face is cold and pale—her eyelids closed;
On pallid lips a shadowy mystery lies:
Tell me that she's not dead!
Should I be thus, and could my heart beat on,
If she wits its hope, its life, were gone?
Soul of my soul, reply!
Dead in the strength and bloom of her prime!
No, no! O, Heaven! O, God! It was not time—
No, no! not time for her to die!
Speak to her, friend! She may perchance awake;
But do not, I entreat, for Christ's dear sake,
Tell me that she's not dead!
Her lips move not! No, no, she cannot speak;
And yet the shadow lies on brow and cheek.
Tell me that she's not dead!
Dead, dead! And the sun shines, and the stars glisten;
And men speak calmly! Sure, I but fancy—listen!
Alas! I do not dream, or sleep!

The world moves on; I hear it even tread;
It thinks, cares, toils and hopes, though she be dead,
And gone beyond recall.

Yet it will mention and recall her name:
This is the price it pays—the breath of fame,
For love, hope, life—all, all.

Dead in this hour of danger to the land
She periled life to save! Oh, Death! thy arrowy hand
A shining mark hath found!

—*Pacific Appeal.*

APOLLYON SUPPLIANT.

Uncle Jeff. is very miserable!"—*Richmond Letter.*
Ay, so, no doubt—why, look you, if Macbeth,
With only one foul moulder on his soul,
Could "sleep no more," though lapped in softest down,
Nor ever smile again but just as smilie
As pain enforces, or galvanic art
Wrings from the ghastly death of the dead;
How should this wretch, whose gory victim far
Outnumber all the breaths he ever drew
From his first birth-gasp, hope to close his eyes
For one brief moment's slumber, or cajole
His cheek with other sardonic joy?
Turn where he may, his nostril cannot shun
The taint of blood in all the general air;
And not a wind that visits him but wreathes
On his quick ear a hell of human groans.

For him whose hand first stained the shuddering earth
With life's most sacred crimson, never more
Was there to be peace with outward foes,
Or sanctity of conscience from within.
Most meet it is, then, that this Cain of Cain,
Whose crimes have drenched a continent in gore,
Sluiced from innumerable fraternal hearts,
Should see a foe in every human face,
In every hand a scourge, in death itself
No refuge from the Nemesis that haunts
The guilty soul through scenes of despair.
While stands he lifting his red hands in prayer
For strength to consummate his awful will
On her who bore him—crowned his potted youth
And faithless manhood with his ribost gifts—
(To find, at last, as Agrippina found
Herself the mother of her deadliest foe)—
Athwart the whole broad land, from sea to sea,
And upward from the swelling of the palm
By suny shores and islands ever green,
To the bleak mountains, at whose snowy paps
Are nursed the infant rivers that amaze
Ocean herself with their majestic port—
From every city, village, hamlet, grange,
The voice of lamentation, day and night,
For loved and lost ones, lifts its hopeless wail.
And, hark! from Europe's overcrowded realms
The cry of famished millions, from whose huts
The iron will of this grim suppliant
Withholds the means whereby, in equal dents,
By patient toll the meane crust was won!
And, hark again! the burden of that cry
His own gaunt slaves, in awful earnestness,
Press on his helpless horror, *Give us bread!*
Oh man of blood! 1000 thrashers of the sword
Into the gromp of fury! God forbid
That we should curse thee for his bitter woes;
Remembering Whose is vengeance, and, wihail,
That they who take "shall perish with the sword"!
—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

W. F. P.

"PETER" AND "PAUL."

Lines respectfully addressed to Thomas Carlyle, Esq., the author of "The American Iliad in a Nutshell," who has lately attempted to show that slavery is merely the hiring of a human being for life, instead of for the month or year as we do."—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

Out on you "Peter," and you "Paul,"
Philosopher of Charybdis,
And leave that only half a truth
Is a whole lie, as we well know.

Who wants these cranno German saws,
But one-third sense and two-thirds fog,
Or paradoxes sought and found
Mid darkness in Cimmerian bog?

No difference, sir, between the slave
And servant, life-time and a year?

Try it then great philistines;

Of whip and gyses thou hast no fear!

"No difference," from his padded chair
The tolerant sage, with bated breath,
Digmatic erie: "The difference, man,
That there is between Life and Death."

God made no slaves; the Heaven above
Is free to all men, king and poor;

There is no special Paradise

To part the rich man from the poor.

All men are free, we English say,

Yet would break our law divine,

And plead for chaining human souls

Over your wainete and your wine.

Go to—this is an evil end

Of a wise life—to fetch fresh chais

To aggravate a wretch's pain

Let his hear more these sophistries,

Or men will cry, and very soon—

This sage's pedantry grows stale,

And savors of the Pantaloon."

—*Comic News.*

THE GHOST OF WILBERFORCE.

IN HONOR OF CHARLES SUMNER.
Listen, world, and you, pale tyrants, tremble!

Far beyond the ocean is he heard!

The wise patriots of our land resemble

Hero-saints of old; their weighty word,

Like the thrilling bugle, or like bells

Solemnly from the cathedral pealing,

Wakes the drowsy universe, and tells

Truths that must be told to hearts unfeeling.

"Sad may on the seabold be the queen;

She may perish, nor the world be bettered;

Sadder sights within our land are seen—

Helpless women to the sale-block fettered."

Hear it, weigh it, and then cast a stone

On the pale apostle; aye, thou shrinkest!

Listening to the cracking of thy thron,

The art dumb-struck, and to dust thou sinkest.

Brooklyn, Sept. 14, 1863. MARIE BLODGE.

SLAVERY.

O, Slavery! thou art a bitter draught!
And twice accursed is thy poisoned bowl,
Which taunts with leprosy the white man's soul,
Not less than by whose dugs are quaffed.

—*Comic News.*

THE CHALLENGE.

IN HONOR OF CHARLES SUMNER.

Listen, world, and you, pale tyrants, tremble!

Far beyond the ocean is he heard!

The wise patriots of our land resemble

Hero-saints of old; their weighty word,

Like the thrilling bugle, or like bells

Solemnly from the cathedral pealing,

Wakes the drowsy universe, and tells

Truths that must be told to hearts unfeeling.

14. Prof. Stuart and Rev. Albert Barnes have replied to the Rationalists in this country, and others in

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

BY REV. LEICESTER A. SAWYER.

Importance of interpreting Daniel correctly; Dark sayings of the Ancients; Methods of Interpreters and dissent of the Rationalists.

1. Daniel is one of the standards of religious faith, and an incorrect interpretation of it tends to the corruption of religion; it is a monument of the past, and an incorrect interpretation of it makes it misrepresent the past; it is a notation and illustration of the laws and methods of God's government, and an incorrect interpretation of it makes it impure to God and methods which are not his.

2. The ancients were fond of riddles and allegories, and ancient literature abounds in them. Riddles were a constant diversion at feasts, and the celebrated oracles of Egypt and Greece were chiefly allegoric and enigmatic sayings. These were long regarded with reverence, and studied with attention, but the last century has consigned them to neglect, and most of them are fast passing into oblivion.

3. Sometimes the ancients proposed riddles and dark sayings, to be guessed and interpreted as simple trials of skill without any accompanying considerations. At other times they were accompanied with stakes, penal conditions, and forfeitures, and their correct solution was made a matter of the greatest importance.

4. We have an example of this in the riddle proposed by Samson to his wedding guests, the Philistines of Timnah. The stakes were thirty sheets, and thirty changes of garments, to be given by Samson to the guests, if they guessed his riddle, but to be paid by them to him, if they failed. Proving incompetent in the task, the Philistines would have lost the stake, if they had not obtained the help of Samson's wife by intimidation. By this means, they gained the stake, to incur still heavier losses by their dishonesty.

5. The riddle of the Sphinx in Greece is an instance of a similar usage among the ancient Greeks. All who attempted to solve the riddle, and failed, were killed; Oedipus solved it, and killed the Sphinx. The story is mythic, and it is not easy to say with certainty what it means, but it refers unmistakably to usages and customs which were real.

6. Had the stories of Daniel been proposed on the same hard conditions as the mythic riddle of the Sphinx, the slaughter of unsuccessful interpreters would have been dreadful; as it is, incorrect solutions have not been harmless, but the riddle of the Sphinx has almost found an antitype in this book.

7. The stories of Daniel far transcend the Grecian oracles and the most celebrated riddles of antiquity, in the difficulty of their solution, and in the injurious effects of the delusions to which they have ministered. They have withstood the ingenuity and diligence of 1800 years and 64 generations, and maintained their credit with the masses of Christendom, as genuine oracles. They have been resolved by a direct reference to God, and to supernatural illuminations and communications from him, and have thereby taught a system of divine procedure in dealing with men, which is not conformable to ignorance, or to fact. Thus interpreted, the past is misrepresented, and men are proportionately misled in their estimates of the present and future.

8. Till problems are solved, they are matters of debate and controversy; contradictory opinions may be held and maintained about the unknown, and be persisted in for ages; but when correct solutions are attained, debate and controversy cease. The book of Daniel has been the subject of infinite debate, and the most absurd hypotheses have been accepted and maintained by many in regard to it, because it has not been fully resolved; when its solution is fully attained, these delusions and debates will cease, and the truth alone prevail. The experiment has been often tried. Who questions now the Copernican Astronomy, or the Newtonian Philosophy? In older times, the subjects to which they relate were deemed incapable of ever being fully resolved, and the world remained over them for thousands of years. Who proposes now to return to astrology, necromancy, and magic, those great boasts of the ancients? Their very names have become odious. Just as little will the more enlightened Christians of future ages return to delusions which are now prevalent, and which are combated with difficulty. The cherished and venerated errors of ages have in many cases been abandoned for certain and salutary truth, and the good work of reforming human faith will go on till all errors are rejected, and all conceivable truth is attained.

9. The author's method may be pursued to more remote and higher results not yet thought of, but invaluable results are already reached which will never be abandoned. Truth once demonstrated is master of its position, and holds it forever.

10. The great English commentators, Matthew Henry, Thomas Scott, Adam Clarke, and others, adopt the views of their predecessors in regard to the Hebrew and Christian oracles, and lend the influence of their great works to extend the empire of delusion and superstition in connection with religion, and fasten their cords on all Bible readers. This has been the general course of thought and labor, but there has been some dissent. The Rationalists in Germany, and a few who have concurred with them in England, America, and other countries, find no essential difference between the oracles of Shushan and Babylon, and those of Delphi and Ammon, and reject both on the same grounds, receiving them only for what they are, and allowing them their legitimate uses. They have boldly denounced the common views of this book, and other sacred Scriptures, as unsupported by evidence, inconsistent with facts, and productive of infinite evil. They demand a reconsideration of questions that have heretofore been settled on superficial grounds, and a rejection of all unwarrantable assumptions from human creeds. They make no war with faith, but only with fallacy; and thus they fight to the death. Their suggestions have received hitherto but little attention, not enough to be generally understood. The principal information which the public have concerning them is derived from the denunciations of ignorant and conceited libellers, who regard them as an abomination.

11. Truths declared and proved are Titans unbound, and are not easily suppressed; they dominate themselves in the high places of the earth, and assail the abodes of the celestials. The Christian Rationalists are supposed by many to have been vanquished and driven from the field. They have taken new positions of the utmost importance in religious science, from which they have not been driven, and never can be; and have driven the supporters of old delusions from positions of equal importance, which they can never regain, and ground is broken for the precious sowings of truth, which to come will cultivate, and the harvests of which will minister to the wealth, and enlarge the stores of all coming ages.

12. The Rationalists are not beaten, nor silenced, and the world has not seen the end of them. The little which they have hitherto done is the preliminary skirmish to their great battle and world-wide victory. They have demonstrated the shallowness of common sophistries, and the unsatisfactory character of common traditional opinions, and have begun to hold as sacred the oracles of the law of all history; it is pitiful, indeed, if that which is supposed to be divine cannot stand the tests of the human; it ought to be stronger in all the tests and evidences of truth than the productions of man; it cannot be found weaker, and acknowledged divine.

13. The Rationalists have in some cases made the wisdom of conventional foolishness, and exposed their cherished principles and valued results to contempt and scorn, but they have impaired the dignity and authority of no truth, and stopped the foundation of no virtue. They have called attention to principles and facts, and endeavored to inculcate the Christian lesson of building our faith on the rock, and not on the shifting sands of uncertain opinion. They have shown the difference between knowledge and opinion, and given the world salutary cautions not to confound them.

14. Prof. Stuart and Rev. Albert Barnes have replied to the Rationalists in this country, and others in

England, Germany, and elsewhere, all in the same impotent methods, and as yet all are generally accepted by the adherents of old fallacies as satisfactory. Future ages will admit the simplicity of implicit, unquestioning faith, and the power of prejudice, which could blind the minds of these eminent scholars to a perception of new truths when fully and finally demonstrated, and induce the deluded masses to follow them.

15. The difficulty of following discoverers and other teachers in the demonstration of new truths is well known to every learner and every teacher. It is not enough for the learner to hear the points of evidence stated, and to have the steps of the argument traced and placed before his eye; he must hear and consider, he must read and re-read, he must observe, and look long and carefully, before the new light breaks on his mind. This is the price of knowledge, and the man who will not pay cannot have the commodity. But though hard to discover, truth is sure to win the world, and it holds it against the skepticism of ignorance and prejudice. The ages are soon thick with examples of human weakness and subjection to temporary delusions; arguments that prove nothing, satisfy prejudiced and interested reasoners, and easily suffice for the support of traditional opinions, while irresistible evidence of new truth is for a time ignored and discredited.

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17. Daniel is one of the standards of religious faith, and an incorrect interpretation of it tends to the corruption of religion; it is a monument of the past, and an incorrect interpretation of it makes it misrepresent the past; it is a notation and illustration of the laws and methods of God's government, and an incorrect interpretation of it makes it impure to God and methods which are not his.

18. The ancients were fond of riddles and allegories, and ancient literature abounds in them. Riddles were a constant diversion at feasts, and the celebrated oracles of Egypt and Greece were chiefly allegoric and enigmatic sayings. These were long regarded with reverence, and studied with attention, but the last century has consigned them to neglect, and most of them are fast passing into oblivion.

19. Sometimes the ancients proposed riddles and dark sayings, to be guessed and interpreted as simple trials of skill without any accompanying considerations. At other times they were accompanied with stakes, penal conditions, and forfeitures, and their correct solution was made a matter of the greatest importance.

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